1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. ●583 If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relativre might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was 591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; [581] he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1]

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years.

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons.

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own.

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, Tcukan'ladwá, was the widow of his elder brother, Kófó. The levirate (*su'gapt*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tukawigipt*, having two wives, *kwadpt*, two; *takawigipt*, having three wives, *kwagpt*, three.) One

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is overturned by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In 591 almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

591 The sign > means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her
585 relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing
551 camps are there underscored.

7. Dean, Sinyella's son > Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

8. Lemoman, Sinyella's son > Supai Charley's daughter 66. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Trikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djordwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

18. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dandjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagadja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8 > Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Joe lived with his father, Trikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tuhawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 65, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tuhawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 23, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, > Anna, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought KaKoda's daughter home from her father's house near 59; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16) > Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 24. Married Tatamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 24 > Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 14; she died. Then he > Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 14; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaba lived 71 > Tsahapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

28. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 46. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1918. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

1[See category 102, p.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

30. Mexican Jack, Captain Jim's half-brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Supai Charley's daughter at 69; she died. His wife Teyava has married three times. First to Arthur's older brother, who lived with his father at 6, took Teyava from her father's house at 29 to a garden near 31; he died. Herding took her to his house (location unknown); he died. Mexican Jack brought her to 30. 591 583 551

31. Richard lived with his older brother, Watahumidja, at 68>Nina, a Walapai. Returned to father's land at 32.

32. Bert, his older brother, took Putsilvuiya's sister from 37 (at once?) to 27; she died. Then he>Mary at her father's house, 63. Brought to father's house nine, 33. His son, Bois, lived with him; brought Clara at once from her father's house, 38, to 33.

33a. Barney, who lived with his father's brother's son at 1>Stella, at her father's house, 54; then to his father's house nine, 33a.

34. Panamida, who lived at his father's house, 4>Smiley's daughter at her father's cave, 50. Took her to 4; she died. He moved to 34.

35. Supai Jack, who lived with father at 65, took Supai Charley's daughter from her father's house, 69, to 35; she died. He went>Kunive, at her brother, Putsilvuiya's house, 37; then to 35.

36. Pakaiagava, who lived at 64>Supai Jack's sister at her father's house, 65; returned to 36.

37. Martin Navaju, Mexican Jack's brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Roger's younger sister at her father's house, 54. She died; he went to 37, near brother at 32.

38. Spoonhead, his brother, who lived with mother at 39>Prince's younger sister at her father's cave 25; she died. Then he>Hutahuidja at her father's house, 62; then to 39.

41. Austin, who lived at 41 (unclaimed land)>Katie at her father's house, near 34; then to 41.

42. Billy, who lived with father at 63>Austin's father's sister at her father's house, 70. Took her to 42; she died. Then he>Lillie at her father's house, 34; then to 42.

43. Captain Burro, his father, who lived at 62>Dauatava at her father's house at 39. Then her father withdrew his consent and gave her to a Walapai. But Captain Burro took her again to his father's land at the Indian Gardens on Bright Angel Trail. Took up location 43 on unclaimed land after 1911 flood.

44. Allen, who lived on dead father's land at 14>Jane at her father's house, 20. Went to 44; she died.

45. Jasper, who lived with his father, Manukadja, at 47>Stella at her father's younger brother's house at 69; then to 45.

46. Leonard, who lived with father at 38>Father at her father, Manukadja's, at 47, that is at 46.

47. Manukadja, who lived at 66>(Iawgwatgwain at her (and Tohowaga's) father's house at 20. Then to his father's land at 47. Then he discarded her and brought a Paiute (now dead) from Pine Spring; and resuming relations with Gwgwatgwain lived at 47 with both wives.

48. Pete, who lived with older brother at 1>Tehotdja, Manukadja's daughter at her father's, 47, that is at 48.

49. Wani lived with his father's older brother, Hayolla, at 49; took Walapai wife.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

591 *81.* Shorty lived with his mother, Ca;i. Burro's *sister*, near her brother's house, 83. Teyadjera, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwenidja at her father's house, ●583 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 81 on her father's land.

551 *82.* Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 83>Andjelik at her brother's house, 6. Then took her to 83; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead *stepfather's* house at 82>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 83: she died in 1918.

84. Roger, who lived at father's site at 84>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 84; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 84; she ran away.

85. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 87>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (297); she died. Took Moses from her father's house, 68, to 85 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

86. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 84.

87. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 90>Deskumiauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 92. Then to 87 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 877)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 16. Then he took her to 87; she died. Then he went>Holem at her father's house, 10; he died.

88. Smiley, who lived alone at 21>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumiauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 86 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

941 Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated.
423 With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the
311 chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the
133 changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its
423 level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto unshared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,
311 when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desir-
423 ing additional fields.

Hilliff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

Spicer Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[177] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of